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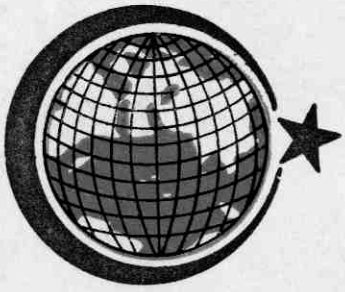

AFGHANISTAN REPORT

NO. 64, 65 & 66

AUGUST, SEPTEMBER & OCTOBER 1989

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— Editor

AFGHANISTAN REPORT: AUGUST, SEPTEMBER & OCTOBER, 1989

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NOTES

The quarterly Afghanistan Report is a carefully researched document for the benefit of scholars and policy-makers. Its aim is to present an objective analysis of the Afghan resistance, the Soviet-Kabul military and psychological warfare, socio-political and economic developments.

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Primary sources for news report from Mujahideen include: Al-Bunyan News Service, the Afghan Information Centre, Afghan News, MIDIA despatches, and Agency Afghan Press files. Secondary sources are the International Media, and research papers and writings of the academicians. We are conscious of the paucity of correct, complete and timely information from closed societies, as also the lack of formal and trained command, control, communication and intelligence set-up among the Mujahideen.

Figures of casualties and material losses given in Section 3 are in only those few cases where such inclusions were necessary for proper appreciation of the given events.

The reports received and reported are subject to the process of verification, whenever possible, which may include interviewing with those most directly informed on the events.

Voice of Islamic Revolutionary Afghanistan (VOIR) is a Mujahideen Radio Station reportedly based in Mashad.

PERIOD COVERED

Facts and figures given in this study are based on reports mostly received during July, August and September, 1989.

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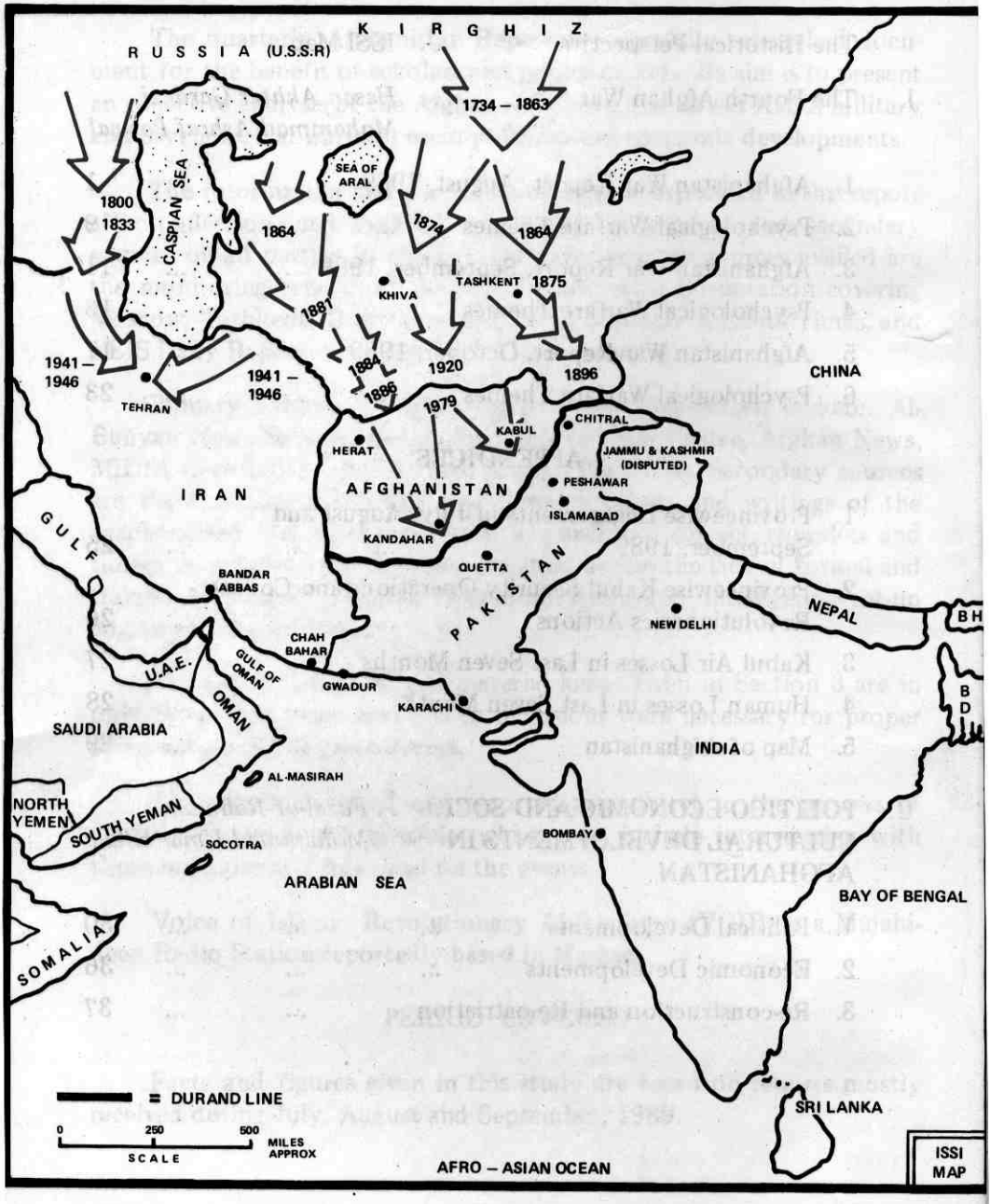
THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE



AFGHANISTAN WAR REPORT, AUGUST 1989

THE FOURTH AFGHAN WAR

1 — AFGHANISTAN WAR REPORT, AUGUST, 1989

Troops belonging to the besieged Kabul Army garrison in Jalalabad came out of the bottle-neck of Khushgunabad in early July and recaptured their former military base at Samarkhel. From Samarkhel they advanced towards the Ghaziabad Agricultural Farms. Their declared aim was Torkham, Afghanistan-Pakistan border town about 50 km further ahead.

However, by the middle of July the Mujahideen were back in the vicinity of Samarkhel, pushing the bulk of Kabul forces back to Jalalabad and a narrow parameter around it.

While fighting continued in Ningarhar, Paktia, Herat and other areas, Mujahideen intensified their rocket attacks on Kabul. A large number of Kabul Army personnel and civilians were killed and property damaged. According to some reports the Embassy complex in Kabul was also partially damaged in one of the rocket attacks.

During the month of July 1989, Mujahideen sources reported 536 incidents in 24, out of 31 Afghan provinces.

These 536 military engagements were comprised of 116 Mujahideen strikes on mobile targets and 234 strikes against immobile targets. Soviet-Kabul forces conducted at least 79 air and 117 ground strikes against Mujahideen positions.

The highest intensity of conflict was reported from Ningarhar, Kabul, Paktiya provinces, followed by Qandahar and Laghman.

Urban Conflict

Urban conflict was witnessed in and around 17 provincial capitals including the major cities of Kabul, Jalalabad and Qandahar.

Soviet-Kabul Coverage

According to Radio Kabul reports, security forces conducted 191 operations in 9 provinces. Kabul media claimed 2,783 "counter-revolutionaries" had been killed and 2,898 wounded. It reported that counter revolutionaries had carried out 109 "act of subversion" in 5 provinces.

Defections

According to Mujahideen reports, about 800 Afghan troops defected to Mujahideen on 32 occasions. Defections took place in 12 Afghan provinces. There were also the crew and passengers of two helicopters

The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance provided by the Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad, in the preparation of this part of the quarterly report.

which landed in Pakistani Baluchistan on July 2. A fighter aircraft of the Afghan air force landed at Peshawar airport on July 4 and its pilot sought political asylum. Similarly, a Second Secretary of the Afghan Embassy in Islamabad defected to the Resistance.

Aerial Losses

According to Mujahideen reports 31 aircraft were destroyed/shot down in 12 provinces. It is reported that 2 helicopters and 7 aeroplanes were destroyed during attacks on airfields, including the major airfields of Qandahar, Herat, Kabul and Bagram.

Scud Missiles Firing

According to the Mujahideen reports about 80 Scud missiles were fired by Kabul army and Soviet Advisers during the reporting month of July 1989 in 5 Afghan provinces. Almost all Scud missiles were fired on the provinces around the capital Kabul, and the eastern provinces bordering Pakistan.

Mujahideen Conflict

A quarrel took place between some Afghan Mujahideen of Jamiat-e-Islami and those of Hezb-e-Islami in Takhar province on 9 July. About 30 Mujahideen including some commanders of Jamiat-e-Islami were killed in the incident.

REGIONWISE ANALYSIS

If we divide Afghanistan into six regions for our current inquiry perhaps a situation similar to the following would emerge:

SOUTHERN AFGHANISTAN (Nimroz, Hilmand, Qandahar, Zabul, Ghazni)

Routine shelling and rocketing of the Kabul regime military establishments in Qandahar city and the Airport Complex areas continued throughout July. Consequently, the Mujahideen claimed to have hit a number of tanks and other military vehicles, as well as, some jet fighters/bombers and helicopters. Nevertheless, there was not any physical change in the positions held by the belligerents.

Supply position to the besieged Kabul regime garrison in Qandahar remained tight. Yet helicopters were able to carry arms and ammunition, as well as, fuel to it.

On July 16, the regime flew a party of newsmen to Qandahar. They were shown a city in ruins: and, the governor stated that the

government was apprehending renewed and more vigorous attacks. At the moment, however, there was 'comparative calm.'

Two other incidents reported from Qandahar province were:

(a) A contingent of Kabul regime commandos was flown into Qandahar on or around July 10 to attack and secure the possession from Mujahideen of the Pakistan-Afghanistan border town of Spin Boldak. On landing near Spin Boldak the commandos were joined by the locally raised militia of the renegade Ismat Muslim. However, the assault failed: and, the Mujahideen continued to remain in control of Spin Boldak and the highway leading from the Pakistani town of Chaman to Qandahar via Spin Boldak.

(b) Two Afghan Army helicopters flew into Pakistani Baluchistan from Qandahar landing at Qila Abdullah, some kilometres from Quetta. The helicopters, by one account, carried four pilots of the Afghan Air Force and their family members. They sought political asylum from Pakistani authorities.

There was 'nil' report on fighting from Nimroz.

In the Hilmand province, Kabul regime tried to push through much needed supplies to the besieged Qandahar city from Herat by way of Lashkargah-Grishik. Mujahideen attacked military supply convoys, destroying a number of vehicles with rockets and landmines. Kabul regime troops on their part bombarded Mujahideen positions along the Herat-Qandahar highway.

In the Zabul, the Mujahideen continued exerting pressure on the provincial capital, Kalat Ghilzai; but the Bala Hissar fortress guarding the city defied all of their attacks. Kalat Ghilzai, physically cut off from the rest of the country was however, being supplied by helicopters from time to time.

In Ghazni province, the Mujahideen attacked Kabul regime security posts in and around Ghazni city in the beginning of the month, inflicting some casualties among the troops.

EASTERN AFGHANISTAN (Paktika, Paktiya, Ningarhar, Kunar, Nooristan)

Of the five provinces located in Eastern Afghanistan, Kunar, Nooristan and Paktika yielded no war reports. This apparently was due to non-presence of organized Kabul regime forces in those parts. Ningarhar and Paktiya, on the other hand, continued to witness large-scale fighting.

Ningarhar

Kabul regime forces launched a major offensive east of Jalalabad

on July 6: and, over the following few days rolled back Mujahideen 'Lashkars' along the Jalalabad-Torkham highway. In the process they regained the much coveted Samarkhel, at one time foremost Soviet-Kabul military base area in all of Ningarhar province. The Mujahideen were also thrown back from the fringes of the Jalalabad Airport, permitting the defenders to repair some of the damaged runways, and improve their existing one-sided superiority in the air.

The Kabul regime authorities had been preparing for this move for some time was evident from the scale of supplies/reinforcements they had lately pumped into Jalalabad by all means available. Before launching forth from the beleaguered garrison town of Jalalabad, Kabul regime forces extensively pounded Mujahideen positions near the airport, the Behsud Bridge, Khushgunabad junction and Samarkhel with long-range artillery. Then came waves of highflying aircraft to soften up their path of advance. Medium-range Scud missiles were also fired on selected targets, including Ghaziabad Agricultural Farms and areas close to Torkham. Some of these missiles landed near or even across the Pakistani border.

On July 6, 7 and 8, Kabul regime armour was knocking at the doors of Ghaziabad Agricultural Farms, which was the chief Mujahideen built up area on the Torkham-Jalalabad highway. The Mujahideen, it would seem, were in somewhat of a desperate situation: and, in haste organized a ceremony to release a large number of 'prisoners.' Perhaps they also wanted to get out of the Farms without encumbrances. Nevertheless, the advancing Kabuli forces stopped a little short of Ghaziabad. Possibly, they apprehended ambush, or purposefully did not want to extend their line of advance. For one thing, the Mujahideen still held some commanding heights in the rear, that is, north of Samarkhel.

According to Mujahideen accounts, on July 13, they were back in the vicinity of Samarkhel, their rockets and guns blasting regime troops from the heights in the north. In these circumstances, regime forces thought it prudent to pull out of Samarkhel once again, and beat a retreat to the fortress city of Jalalabad. The retreating forces were protected by an impressive array of tanks. Some of these tanks were, however, hit with armour-piercing rockets. Five tanks were captured.

It would appear that towards the end of the month, the Mujahideen were once again entrenched in the outskirts of Jalalabad, exchanging rocket and artillery fire with the regime forces. Meanwhile, Russian (made) aircraft bombed and straffed Mujahideen positions, as well as, villages suspected of harbouring Mujahideen.

Paktiya

On July 15, Mujahideen launched a well-coordinated 'joint operation' against Kabul regime establishments around the besieged garrison town of Khost. In the initial phase, they captured nine security posts and what they called, a 'brigade headquarters' at, or somewhere near, the Kabul regime stronghold at Nadir Shahkot. A large quantity of arms and ammunitions was seized from this place, including mortars, anti-aircraft guns and machineguns. Mujahideen claimed that more than 800 Kabuli troops and militiamen had surrendered to them during this operation.

Kabul, Moscow and All India Radio stations confirmed Mujahideen offensive and large-scale fighting around Khost. But Radio Moscow quoted Kabul regime officials as saying that the attacks were repulsed with heavy losses to the "counter-revolutionaries." These officials denied that "a few hundred" of their troops had surrendered to the Mujahideen.

Earlier on July 6, Mujahideen made several attacks on the provincial capital city of Gardez, which lies on the vital Kabul-Pul-e-Alam-Gardez-Khost road. Among the targets successfully hit was the airport where two helicopters on ground might have been destroyed, in addition to an ammunition depot.

Najibullah's military establishment and its Russian 'Advisers' in Kabul tried to thwart Mujahideen offensive in Paktiya (and Ningarhar) with hightened use of the "terror weapon" Scud missile. Atleast 5 of these Russian missiles landed in the area of Jaji where some offices of the Mujahideen Interim Government (AIG) are located. It was also stated that the AIG Prime Minister Professor Abdur Rab Rasul Sayyaf was camping in Jaji at that time.

NORTHERN AFGHANISTAN (Badakhshan, Takhar, Kunduz, Samangan, Balkh, Jozjan, Faryab, Sar-i-Pul, Badghis)

On July 9, an unfortunate incident occurred in Takhar province involving two of the most active and goal-oriented factions of the Mujahideen, which might cast its shadows on the Mujahideen's war efforts against their common enemy. On that date atleast 30 Mujahideen, including some commanders, were killed in a clash between Jamiat-e-Islami and Hezb-e-Islami at Ferkhar. The incident followed a meeting in Ferkhar convened by Ahmad Shah Masoud to discuss military plans. Jamiat commanders from Takhar, Baghlan, Kunduz and Badakhshan provinces participated in the meeting. They were attacked in Tangi Ferkhar, a gorge half way between Ferkhar district and Talaqan. All factions of Mujahideen including Professor Mujaddadi, the

President of the Interim Government of Afghanistan deplored the incident and stressed the need for unity among their ranks. Nevertheless, the incident seemed to have put the Freedom Fighters on the defensive in many parts of Afghanistan, more especially Northern Afghanistan.

Incidentally, Mujahideen sources reported only one incident of hostilities between Mujahideen and Kabul regime forces in Takhar province during the whole of July. That was on July 1, when Soviet-made aircraft bombarded Mujahideen positions in Eshkamash district. The attack probably took place on some Mujahideen centre, because only some Mujahideen were reportedly killed. Several houses were razed to ground.

On July 15, soon after the Ferkhar incident, involving the Hezb and Jamiat in Takhar, Kabul regime forces in Badakhshan succeeded in establishing a number of new security posts near the strategically important Mujahideen position at Topkhana. To embarrass and impress upon the local population they bombarded the surrounding villages, killing and wounding a large number of them. At Topkhana the Mujahideen had set up some heavy guns. The Topkhana area had been under Mujahideen control for about a year. It lies on communication lines vital both to the Mujahideen and the Kabul regime troops for operations in Northern Afghanistan.

Fighting continued between Kabul regime forces and Mujahideen in Kunduz, Baghlan, Balkh, Jozjan, Faryan and Badghis provinces during July, though at somewhat reduced tempo in comparison with previous months. All the same Mujahideen shot down a number of aircraft, sabotaged gas pipelines and road communications. In the Mazar district of Balkh province, Hussain Pehlwan, a commander of regime militia, surrendered to Mujahideen along about 400 of his followers. Similar defections even though, at a smaller scale, also took place elsewhere, notably in Sar-i-Pul and Baghlan provinces.

In Badghis province, the Mujahideen tightened their siege of the capital city, Qala Nau and Murghab. Soviet-made aircraft bombarded Mujahideen positions at a village identified as Chinchal. Here several houses were destroyed and non-combatants killed.

WESTERN AFGHANISTAN (Herat, Farah)

During the month of July, Mujahideen continued attacking Kabul regime troops and establishments, as well as, transport in the western provinces of Herat and Farah. Herat has common borders both with Iran and the Turkministan Republic of USSR. Farah has common border with Iran. Mujahideen commander Ismael Khan was active on

the fringes of Herat city. He over-ran several security posts both in the east and west of the city, and accounted for the destination of 8 tanks.

In a daring rocket attack on Herat Airport, Ismael Khan claimed having destroyed 3 aircraft.

Other reports indicated that the Mujahideen have blocked parts of the Torghundi-Herat and Herat-Islam Qila highway. The former connects Herat with the USSR, Merv, and the latter with Iran (Mashad). According to these reports, Kabul regime forces were exerting to 're-open' these roads.

In Farah province, Mujahideen attacked a military convoy on 7 July. Likewise, four tanks and a lorry were hit on July 12. Yet another military convoy was attacked near Bala Bolak. A number of tanks and trucks were destroyed and more than 60 soldiers killed. A helicopter escorting the convoy was also shot down.

The Torghundi-Herat-Qandahar road, the foremost channel for supply of Russian arms and ammunitions to southern Afghanistan, passes through Farah province. On its common demarcation line with Herat province is located the major air base of Shindand.

CENTRAL AFGHANISTAN (Ghor, Uruzgan, Bamiyan)

There were not any reports of fighting from the Hazara dominated province of Bamiyan. There are not supposed to be any Kabul regime troops in Bamiyan.

From the Ghor and Uruzgan provinces a number of Mujahideen operations were reported. The provincial capitals of the Ghor (Chaghcharan) and Uruzgan (Tarinkot) have for a long time been under effective siege of Mujahideen. The Mujahideen who control the countryside, have subjected the Kabul regime troops and establishments in Chaghcharan and Tarinkot to rocket and missile attacks. On the other hand, Soviet-made aircraft kept on bombing Mujahideen positions and villages.

KABUL AND SHOMALI (Kabul, Parwan, Kapisa, Baghlan, Laghman, Logar, Wardak)

The Mujahideen stepped up their attacks on the capital, Kabul, during July. The city was hit by rockets on 6 July with devastating effect. One rocket fell near UN observers building, another near German Embassy, but the Embassy like other West European Embassies was closed.

Then there was a big explosion. In this case Mujahideen rockets had hit an ammunition depot near the Kabul international airport. Eye witnesses said secondary explosions sent flames and smoke across the

capital.

Kabul regime officials said that guerrillas fired more than 50 rockets into Kabul on 10 July, killing atleast 20 people. More than 50 were injured.

One of city's main hotels was hit, but no one was seriously injured. Najibullah administration accused Pakistan of involvement in the rocket attacks and said it will retaliate.

Another 20 people were killed in a car bomb explosion in the centre of the city.

On July 18, Kabul regime forces conducted a big security sweep in Kabul city. A government spokesman said the search was in response to reports that guerrillas had smuggled weapons and ammunition into the city.

Armoured personnel carriers mounted with cannons and large number of soldiers sealed off large parts of Kabul, July 18, as the night curfew was lifted. House-to-house searches were conducted for weapons and an unknown number of arrests made.

Likewise, an intensive aerial operation was witnessed in the suburbs of Kabul on July 28. Gunship helicopters and transport planes were seen flying towards Paghman in the north-west of Kabul and the government seemed to have intensified attacks on the Mujahideen positions.

Some rockets fired from areas believed to have been held by the government landed in the busy bazaars and residential areas of Kabul. This spawned rumours, that some of these rockets were actually launched by government agencies. A government spokesman, however, rejected these reports. He blamed the guerrillas for killing civilians in their subversive activities.

The BBC in a report carried on July 29 said that the guerrillas had probably acquired a new generation of comparatively long-range missiles.

In Parwan, Mujahideen launched a powerful attack on Charikar, the provincial headquarters, on July 23. Charikar lies on the main highway south of the Salang Tunnels: and, their aim could have been to cut off this vital road communication link between the capital Kabul and the Soviet Union supply points such as the Oxus River port of Hairatan.

The Kabul regime authorities reacted strongly with their aircraft heavily pounding Mujahideen. Simultaneously, they fired Scud missiles on some permanent establishments of the Mujahideen in the neighbourhood of Charikar. Some reports suggested that these missiles came in from two opposite directions, namely, (1) from the side of Kabul, and (2) Hairatan, situated on the banks of the Amu (Oxus) River.

The Mujahideen attack on Charikar was thus warded off.

During the month of July, the Mujahideen made several rocket and missile attacks on the large Bagram air base. On July 29, they claimed to have destroyed 3 aircraft at Bagram.

Kapisa is liberated territory and there are no Kabul regime troops. Therefore, there had not been any ground fighting in that province recently. However, on July 28, Soviet-made aircraft bombarded Mujahideen establishments and villages in the Kohistan area of Kapisa.

Fighting in Laghman province was vigorous. The strategic Kabul-Jalalabad road passes through a part of Laghman. On July 7, the Mujahideen captured 7 security posts near Tangi Ebrashim Gorges on the Kabul-Jalalabad highway. After about a week, Kabul regime forces launched a powerful counter-attack to remove Mujahideen blockade near Tangi Embrashim.

After several attempts and losing many tanks and trucks, Kabul regime forces were compelled to pull back to Sarobi and Kabul on July 14.

On July 24, a Kabul regime mobile force made another bid to break through the Tangi Embrahim bottle-neck. The convoy was protected by tanks and aircraft. Apparently, this attempt to re-supply beleaguered Jalalabad was also frustrated.

In the adjoining Logar province, through which pass important communication lines of both the Kabul regime, as well as, those of the Mujahideen, sporadic fighting continued over a wide area. Mujahideen made several attacks on the provincial capital, Pul-e-Alam.

The Kabul regime responded by sending forth its air force to attack Mujahideen positions and concentrations near Pul-e-Alam and Muhammad Agha. Muhammad Agha which lies on an important junction of roads has been in Mujahideen possession for several months. Some Scud missiles were also fired on Mujahideen positions in Logar on July 12.

The Mujahideen who had last year for a short period captured Maidan Shahr, were once again concentrating on this provincial headquarters of Wardak province. In a clash on the outskirts of Maidan Shahr on July 23, they killed 70 Kabul regime soldiers and officials, including a 'senator.'

2 — PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE THEMES

Radio Kabul

Given below, were the major Radio Kabul propaganda themes during the month of July 1989, in descending order of recurrence:

1. Pakistan's aggressive plans against Afghanistan and its direct interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan to complete its designs of annexation.
2. Mujahideen anti-Islamic, anti-people, anti-state activities, and their "Jehad drama" for earning money.
3. Kabul regime's policy of National Reconciliation and sincere efforts for peaceful settlement of Afghanistan problem.
4. Geneva Accords violations by Pakistan and United States.
5. Kabul government and its defence forces are strong enough to control the situation.

Radio Moscow

Given below, were the major Moscow media propaganda themes regarding Afghanistan issue during the month of July 1989 in descending order of recurrence:

1. Pakistan's military plans and beefing up of it's armed forces by United States are creating apprehensions among the regional countries.
2. Mujahideen: their terrorist activities, differences among their ranks, and their irresponsible attitude towards serious problem. Their lust for power and money.
3. United States increased supply of sophisticated weapons to Mujahideen.
4. Pakistan's direct interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and its dreams of annexation of that country.
5. A realistic solution of Afghanistan problem is possible through political means, and not militarily.

AFGHANISTAN WAR REPORT, SEPTEMBER 1989

3 — AFGHANISTAN WAR REPORT, SEPTEMBER, 1989

Fighting slackened in Ningarhar, as also in many other provinces of Afghanistan, in August 1989. But it gained momentum around the capital Kabul. From the beginning to the end over the month, the Mujahideen continued shower rockets and missiles on selected targets — military establishments and ruling party offices — in and around the city: and, hundreds of servicemen and civilians were killed. The Kabul regime reacted by sending forth powerful sorties of Soviet-made high-flying bombers and Scud missiles to attack the "counter-revolutionaries" in Paghman and other nearby hills, where the Mujahideen have set up their bases.

On the face of it, both sides have received fresh, and more lethal, supplies of arms and ammunition from foreign friends, and these they are using to the unease of their adversaries. In addition to almost daily supply of arms by air the Soviet Union is known to have sent large consignments of tanks, guns, missiles to the Najibullah administration by road. On their part, both Kabul and Moscow Radios say that the Mujahideen are using some new types of rockets and missiles. One of these rockets, they say, releases 'clusters of bombs' on impact on the ground, or shortly before it, in the air. They say this new weapon in the Mujahideen arsenal is of American manufactured.

Mujahideen sources reported 265 incidents in 26, out of 31 Afghan provinces during August 1989.

Of these 265 engagements, 45 were initiated by Mujahideen on mobile targets, that is, convoys and detachments on warlike and reconnaissance missions: and 139 on immobile targets, cantonments, camping grounds, airfields, official buildings and barracks.

Kabul forces conducted atleast 40 air and 37 ground strikes against Mujahideen.

The highest intensity of conflict was reported from Kabul, Qandahar and Paktiya, followed by Ningarhar and Parwan provinces.

Urban Conflict

Urban conflict was witnessed in and around 15 provincial capitals, including Kabul, Qandahar and Jalalabad.

Soviet-Kabul Coverage

According to Radio Kabul reports security forces conducted 85 operations in 9 provinces, Hilmand, Qandahar, Kabul, Paktiya, Ningarhar, Kunduz, Baghlan, Herat and Wardak.

According to figures cited by Kabul media, 1,810 "counter-

revolutionaries" were killed and 2,147 wounded. It was reported that "counter-revolutionary" elements conducted 88 acts of subversion in 11 provinces, Qandahar, Zabul, Paktiya, Ningarhar, Kunduz, Samangan, Herat, Uruzgan, Kabul, Laghman and Wardak.

Defections

According to Mujahideen reports 1,011 Afghan troops and militiamen defected/surrendered to Mujahideen on 12 occasions. Major defections took place in Badghis province (700).

Air Losses

Mujahideen destroyed/shot down 20 aircraft of which 11 were fighter/bomber/transport planes and 9 helicopters. Ten of the aircraft/helicopters were destroyed on ground at Kabul (2), Herat (3), Qandahar (4), and Kunduz (1) airports.

Scud Missiles

Atleast 29 Scud missiles were fired by Kabul forces on two Eastern Afghan provinces, Ningarhar and Paktiya, in which 11 people were killed and 17 injured.

REGIONWISE ANALYSIS

If, for purposes of convenience of analysis, we divide Afghanistan into six parts, namely, (1) Eastern Afghanistan, (2) Southern Afghanistan, (3) Western Afghanistan, (4) Northern Afghanistan, (5) Central Afghanistan and (6) the capital Kabul, a situation similar to the following unfolds itself.

SOUTHERN AFGHANISTAN (Nimroz, Hilmand, Qandahar, Zabul, Ghazni)

Fierce fighting continued between Mujahideen and Kabul regime forces near Qandahar airport. Mujahideen claimed they had hit atleast 4 aircraft, including a helicopter. The airport terminal and a radar station were also damaged.

Meanwhile on August 9, a serious clash took place between two Kabul regime militia groups in Qandahar city. The fighting reportedly arose out of differences over distribution of money and valuables which they had stolen. Other reports suggested it was the result of mounting tensions between the Khalqi and Parchami factions. Involved in the fighting were also Jozjani militia brought into Qandahar from the North, and locally raised 'lashkar' of Esmatullah Muslim. Heavy casual-

ties were reported on both sides before 'regular' troops intervened.

Kabul regime authorities in Qandahar announced that a large military convoy of tanks, APCs and trucks was advancing on the Torghundi-Herat-Qandahar road to relieve and strengthen the besieged garrison in Qandahar. It was rumoured that when the convoy finally reached Qandahar a 'decisive' offensive would be launched against the Mujahideen.

Ghazni and Zabul were quieter.

EASTERN AFGHANISTAN (Paktika, Paktiya, Ningarhar, Kunar, Nooristan)

There is not any visible Kabul regime presence in Paktika, Kunar and Nooristan provinces; and, therefore, low level of conflict. Only occasionally do Soviet-made aircraft, or long-range Scud missiles, attack Mujahideen establishments and communications in these parts.

As against this, some of the fierest battles of the 10-years old Fourth Afghanistan War have been fought in Ningarhar and Paktiya in recent months. Both Ningarhar and Paktiya remained 'hot' during August, 1989, but to a lesser degree in comparison with the previous month.

Ningarhar

The tempo of fighting in the embattled Ningarhar province ebbed significantly during August 1989, with only 22 incidents reported against 146 reported in July. It seemed Kabul regime forces advance from Jalalabad toward the Pakistani border town of Torkham had grounded to a screeching halt half way between Samarkhel and Ghaziabad Agricultural Farms. The Mujahideen hold some commanding heights north of Samarkhel from where even intense aerial and artillery bombing had failed to dislodge them.

Some other reports, however, indicated that Kabuli commanders, and their Soviet advisers, in Jalalabad were massing fresh troops and armaments—both by air and land—to launch an overwhelming drive to Torkham. Only lately they had received a large convoy of tanks, armoured troops carriers and trucks from Kabul. This despite desperate efforts on the part of Mujahideen to stop it in the vicinity of Sarobi and Abresham gorges on the Kabul-Jalalabad highway, Mujahideen attacks on the convoy came from the sides of Laghman, Kabul and Paktiya.

Meanwhile, the Kabul regime forces launched Scud missiles and high altitude bombing attacks against Mujahideen positions along the Jalalabad-Torkham road. One of the Scud missiles hit their own securi-

ty posts near Hadda.

Paktiya

During the third week of August, the Mujahideen launched a major 'joint' operation against the besieged garrison town of Khost. On August 24, they attacked the security posts of Musa, Sayedakai and Dargai. The Dargai sub-district garrison headquarters fell; but, according to later Kabul government reports, it was re-taken by them. In this operation the Mujahideen used two captured tanks.

During fighting in and around Dargai, the Mujahideen claimed, they had killed 120 regime soldiers and militiamen. Another 40 surrendered to them. The spoils of war included a tank and a quantity of arms and ammunition. Dargai is situated at a distance of about 10 miles from Khost on a junction of roads.

Kabul, Moscow and All India Radios said that the Mujahideen had suffered heavy casualties around Khost. Western diplomats also agreed and opined that one reason for Mujahideen's heavy losses of life was that the Kabul regime was using medium range Scud missiles against them.

NORTHERN AFGHANISTAN (Badakhshan, Takhar, Kunduz, Samangan, Balkh, Jozjan, Sar-i-Pul, Faryan, Badghis)

The northern provinces of Badakhshan, Takhar, Kunduz, Balkh, Jozjan, Faryan and Badghis witnessed considerable fighting, began with the Mujahideen move to besiege the important Kabul regime posts of Ashkasham and Zebak held great promise. On 13 August, they actually entered Zebak. More than 75 regime soldiers and militiamen were killed and about 300 taken prisoner. With earlier capture of Topkhana, the prospects for Mujahideen in Badakhshan seemed to have become brighter. Yet, some other not fully confirmed reports said that due to "differences" among the Mujahideen, they could not retain the possession of Zebak for very long. They also lost Ashkasham which lies very close to the Soviet border. In truth, Mujahideen's internecine quarrels in the northern provinces have done grievous harm to their common cause as in several sections they seemed to be pitted against each other rather than the Kabul forces.

In the Badghis province, however, the Mujahideen gained a significant success in that about 700 militiamen protecting the provincial capital defected and joined them. The Mujahideen also shot down two Soviet-made aircraft with missiles. Qala-e-Nau had been under Mujahideen siege for many months; and, in this area friction between Mujahideen groups was not as acute as in some other parts.

WESTERN AFGHANISTAN (Herat, Farah)

Comparatively speaking, the intensity of war in Herat and Farah was low during August, even though the Mujahideen carried out a number of operations against Kabul troops in Chardasht, Panjdasht, Khawajakale, Mir Kalandar, Khist-e-Mili areas. The Mujahideen were also active around Shindand and Herat Air Force bases of the Afghan forces.

Mujahideen fired rockets on Herat airport which was heavily damaged and remained closed for flights for several days. Three Soviet-made aircraft were destroyed.

On their part, the Kabul regime aircraft 'constantly' bombed the western parts of the Herat city from 11 to 16 August, causing heavy losses to life and property.

In Farah province, the Mujahideen attacked a military convoy in the Dilaram area, destroying a tank and four other vehicles. The convoy was moving towards Dreshak. Possibly this was the 'large' military convoy reportedly moving from the Soviet border via Herat and Farah to strengthen the defences of Qandahar.

CENTRAL AFGHANISTAN (Ghor, Uruzgan, Bamiyan)

In the province of Uruzgan, Mujahideen frustrated a powerful attempt of Kabul regime troops to break the siege of the provincial capital, Tarinkot.

Forty Mujahideen were killed during the fighting, casualties on the side of Kabul forces could not be ascertained. On 19 August, Soviet-made aeroplanes dropped supplies to the besieged garrison by helicopters.

In the Ghor province the Mujahideen launched several rocket and missile attacks on the provincial capital, Chaghacharan.

KABUL AND SHOMALI (Kabul, Parwan, Baghlan, Kapisa, Laghman, Logar, Wardak)

During the month of August, Mujahideen increased rocket attacks on the capital Kabul. A Kabul Foreign Ministry Spokesman said in Moscow, the Mujahideen were using new versions of rockets and missiles on Kabul which had longer range and one of these new missiles carried a cluster bomb which, on impact on ground, or even before, in the air, released a large number of smaller bombs. This was stated to be of American manufacture. Another rocket/missile was stated to be of Egyptian manufacture.

The Mujahideen continued to fire projectiles on selected targets in Kabul from the hills in Paghman and adjoining areas. Some of these landed in the area where lie the Presidential Palace, various Ministries

and the Soviet Embassy. Over the month of August several hundred rockets hit Kabul city and cantonment. Consequently a number of civilians were also killed and wounded, alongwith Afghan government servicemen and the ruling communist Party and Khad activists.

The Kabul government authorities tried to counter the Mujahideen rocket offensive by:

(a) Hitting the Mujahideen at the source of rocket attacks in Paghman and other adjoining hills in Parwan. They attacked the Mujahideen with Scud missiles, as well as, cluster bombs. According to the official Bakhtar News Agency, their aeroplanes ran no less than 380 "air missions" on the suspected "region from where rockets were fired on Kabul."

(b) The Kabul regime set up new security posts around Kabul city, especially towards Paghman, Maidan and Logar, so that the "security belt" protecting Kabul from hostile attacks could be extended by several kilometres.

4 — PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE THEMES

Radio Kabul

Given below, were the major Kabul Radio propaganda themes in August 1989, in descending order of recurrence:

1. Failure of Mujahideen Interim Government, fighting among the Mujahideen and crimes committed by them.
2. Pakistan's interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and its evil designs against Afghanistan.
3. Violation of Geneva Accords by Pakistan.
4. Resentment of Balochs and Pakhtoons against Pakistan's anti-Pakhtoon and anti-Balochi policies.
5. Anti-Afghan policies pursued by United States and Saudi Arabia, including supply of arms to the extremists.

Radio Moscow

Given below, were the major Moscow media propaganda themes in August 1989, in descending order of recurrence:

1. United States continuous arms supply to Pakistan and military collaboration between USA and Pakistan is causing concern to other countries in the region.
2. Intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan by United States and some Arab countries through the supply of lethal weapons to the counter-revolutionaries.
3. A peaceful settlement through intra-Afghans dialogue and by holding an international conference.
4. Pakistan is pursuing anti-Afghan policies by interferring in the internal affairs of Afghanistan through counter-revolutionary bandits and secret military agencies.
5. Differences among the Mujahideen on drug business routes: their cruelty and barbarism.

AFGHANISTAN WAR REPORT, OCTOBER 1989

5 — AFGHANISTAN WAR REPORT, OCTOBER, 1989

A huge convoy of military and supply vehicles began arriving in the southern Afghan city of Qandahar on September 13, after a 500-km journey from the border with the Soviet Union at Torghundai-Kushka. Spread over some 30 kilometres from one end to the other, the convoy was spearheaded, flanked and rearguarded by no less than 200 Russian-made tanks and 100 other armoured vehicles. Throughout its about three weeks journey the convoy was repeatedly attacked, even though the Torghundai-Herat-Qandahar route largely passes through terrain not favourable to guerrillas. Protecting it, in the air was an umbrella of MiG fighters, bombers and helicopters.

A regime spokesman in Kabul suggested that the arrival of this convoy in Qandahar could change the "balance of power" in Southern Afghanistan. True enough, if the reinforced garrisons in the beleaguered Qandahar city and airport complex can break out of Mujahideen stronghold, and speedily regain control of the Qandahar-Spin Buldak-Chaman and Qandahar-Ghazni-Kabul roads, the balance of power in the area will be affected. For one thing, some very important communication lines of the Mujahideen bisect the Qandahar-Spin Buldak or the Qandahar-Ghazni-Kabul highways, at one point or another.

But, is the situation so favourable to the regime as their spokesman seemed to give the impression it was? Clearly enough it is not. It will be noted that Kabul regime's ability to use the Torghundai-Herat-Qandahar road was so tenuous that it dared not send a convoy to beleaguered Qandahar without massing 300 tanks/armoured cars and squadrons of aircraft/helicopters for its protection. The objective situation currently existing in Afghanistan indicates that the "democratic people's government" is surrounded at and at war with its own people. The arrival of the supply convoy in Afghanistan will not change the situation in that region materially.

Meanwhile, fighting continued in Ningarhar and Paktiya—in Paktika at an accelerated pace—as also in most other provinces, with the exception of those from where Najibullah forces have pulled out completely like Paktika, Kunar, Nooristan and Hazarajat.

In Kabul and 'Shomali' areas, north of Kabul, the Mujahideen and Najib regime forces were involved in rocket-artillery duels. The Mujahideen seemed to have come closer to the capital; and, where thus able to hit the airport and military/political/official establishments more freely. Renewed firing of the airport coincided with Dr. Najibullah's departure for the Non-Aligned summit in Belgrade early in September. The United Nations confirm reports that an aircraft was damaged due to

Mujahideen rocket attack on Kabul airport on September 13, which was also carrying Benon Sevan, Secretary General's personal envoy on Afghanistan. It was believed that the attack not specifically directed against Mr. Sevan who escaped injury but, it did underline the need for a political solution of the Afghanistan problem.

Hundreds of people must have been killed due to rocketing on Kabul city during the month of September, 1989. The Kabul regime authorities replied by firing Scud missiles on Mujahideen positions in Paghman and neighbouring Parwan.

Mujahideen sources reported 299 incidents in 19 Afghan provinces during September, 1989. These engagements comprised 50 Mujahideen strikes on mobile targets and 167 strikes against immobile targets. Soviet-Kabul forces conducted atleast 52 air and 30 ground strikes against Mujahideen fixed positions or mobile groups.

The highest intensity of conflict was reported from Kabul, Paktiya and Balkh, followed by Qandahar, Parwan and Herat.

Urban Conflict

Urban conflict was witnessed in and around 13 provincial capitals including the major cities of Kabul, Qandahar and Ghazni.

Soviet-Kabul Coverage

According to Radio Kabul reports, security forces conducted 85 operations in 13 provinces. According to figures cited by Kabul media 2,102 "counter-revolutionaries" were killed and 1,984 wounded. It was reported that "counter-revolutionary" elements carried out 79 "acts of subversion" in 9 provinces.

Defections

According to Mujahideen reports 792 Afghan troops defected to Mujahideen in September 1989. Defections took place in 9 provinces.

Aerial Losses

Mujahideen sources reported 17 aircraft destroyed in September, 1989. The total comprised 4 helicopters and 13 fighters/bombers. Six aircraft and two helicopters were destroyed during attacks on airfields of Lashkargah, Qandahar, Khost, Shindand and Kabul.

REGIONWISE ANALYSIS

If, for purposes of convenience of analysis, we divide Afghanistan into six parts, namely, (1) Eastern Afghanistan, (2) Southern Afghanis-

tan, (3) Western Afghanistan, (4) Northern Afghanistan (5) Central Afghanistan, and (6) the capital Kabul, a situation similar to the following unfolds itself.

SOUTHERN AFGHANISTAN (Nimroz, Hilmand, Qandahar, Zabul, Ghazni)

Central to the fighting in the provinces of Nimroz, Hilmand and Qandahar in September, 1989 was Mujahideen efforts to stop, damage or destroy a huge military convoy which had set off from the Soviet border at Torghundi-Kushka for beleaguered Qandahar garrison. This definitely was the largest military convoy seen during the 11-year old war in Afghanistan and comprised more than one thousand vehicles. From one end to the other, it measured 30 kilometres. It was carrying weapons, besides food and fuel. Some 200 tanks and another 100 armoured vehicles, escorted the convoy, in addition to fighters-bombers and helicopters in the air.

During its about 800 km journey from the Soviet border, it was repeatedly attacked by Mujahideen. Some usually reliable Mujahideen sources estimated atleast 80 vehicles were destroyed in only one guerilla ambush. Kabul regime officials admitted much lower losses.

It would seem the convoy was delayed near Grishik, in Hilmand province, for several days. It experienced another hurdle in the vicinity of Maiwand. Ultimately mobile columns from the Qandahar garrison and air force had to be sent to extricate it. It reached Qandahar on September 13-14, 1989.

Kabul regime spokesman characterised the arrival of the convoy as a major victory for the government which could "change the balance of power" in the region. But, it also indicated the weakness of the regime, it showed that it cannot carry vital food, fuel and weapons supplies to the besieged city and airport of Qandahar without such powerful escorts as accompanied the convoy in September. It will also be noted that the entire journey was through a type of terrain which is unfavourable to guerrillas.

However, with the arrival of this massive convoy in Qandahar, the garrison feels itself strong enough, that it might foray out and try to clear the clogged highways connecting Qandahar with Spin Buldak on the Pakistani border on one hand, and Ghazni and Kabul on the other.

Reports received from Zabul and Ghazni provinces indicate that rockets continued to be fired on the provincial headquarters sporadically. The strategic highway connecting Qandahar with Kabul passes close to Kalat-e-Ghilzai and Ghazni cities which have been under Mujahideen encirclement for several months. Kalat-e-Ghilzai and Ghazni are

being supplied by air only.

EASTERN AFGHANISTAN (Paktika, Paktiya, Ningarhar, Kunar, Nooristan)

The provinces of Kunar—capital city, Chagha Sarai—and Paktika—capital city, Sharna—have been completely liberated: and, there were not any war reports from these parts in September, 1989. In previous years Barikot, Chagha Sarai and Asmar in Kunar and Sharna in Paktika had been the scenes of big battles between the Mujahideen and Soviet-Kabul forces.

Ningarhar

In Ningarhar, where lies the new famous city of Jalalabad, fighting erupted—following a lull—in the third week of September. It would, however, seem there were not any material changes in the positions and areas held by the belligerents. The Kabul regime was solidly entrenched in Jalalabad and Samarkhel: and, the Mujahideen controlled the countryside as well as the highway leading from Samarkhel to Torkham on the Pakistani border. The Mujahideen have also been effectively interferring with Kabul regime mobile detachments and supply convoy on the Jalalabad-Kabul highway, especially half way between the two cities near Sarobi. In this area the Kabul regime has set up a large number of permanent security posts which the Mujahideen keep under rocket and missile attacks. Nevertheless, if and when, the Kabul regime musters sufficient armour and air power it is able to push through men and materials to Jalalabad. The Kabul regime has superiority in firepower, and the Mujahideen are stronger among the people.

On September 29, the pilot of a MiG fighter plane of Afghan Air Force assigned to bombard Mujahideen positions near Abreshim gorges on the Kabul-Jalalabad highway found an opportunity to dash off to the Peshawar air base in Pakistan and seek political asylum. He identified himself as Major Jalaluddin.

Paktiya

It seem that the Mujahideen shifted some of their 'Lashkars' from Ningarhar, Paktika and Logar to Paktiya where lies the regime cantonment of Khost. It remained the scene of fierce fighting throughout the month. Both sides suffered heavy losses in men and material including the shooting down of a Russian-made MiG fighter and a transport plane. A regime military convoy on way to Khost was forced to retreat to Gardez.

Security posts around Khost were subjected to repeated missile

attacks by Mujahideen.

Kabul Radio broadcasts admitted that the Mujahideen had attacked their troops and establishments in Khost Loya Uoleswali, Ismail Khel, Gorhar, Tanai, Gurboz and Yaqubi. "In retaliation," the regime security forces heavily shelled positions held by the Mujahideen. A large number of people were killed. Among them were "Pakistani soldiers and Saudi Wahabis," Kabul Radio claimed.

According to Kabul Radio, the Mujahideen were using 'heavy weapons' and the tempo of fighting substantially increased towards the end of the month.

NORTHERN AFGHANISTAN (Badakhshan, Takhar, Kunduz, Samangan, Balkh, Jozjan, Sar-i-Pul, Faryab, Badghis)

There was not much of fighting in Takhar, Jozjan and Sar-i-Pul provinces between the Mujahideen and regime troops. In Takhar possibly it was due to tensions between two major factions of the Mujahideen, the Jamiat-e-Islami and Hezb-e-Islami, which have put them on the defensive rather than on the offensive. There, of course, were incidents in Badakhshan, Balkh, Kunduz, Baghlan, Samangan, Faryab and Badghis. Here too fighting remained concentrated around major cities, especially those lying on or close to communication channels.

In Balkh and Baghlan, the Mujahideen carried out several raids on transport passing on the roads connecting the river port on the Oxus at Hairatan with the Salang Tunnels.

On their part, aircraft of Russian manufacture pounded Mujahideen 'Lashkars' and establishments in Balkh, Badakhshan, Kunduz and Faryab provinces. Even villages remotely suspected of harbouring Mujahideen were bombed. Some of these aircraft, Mujahideen sources, said had taken off from bases in the adjoining Soviet Central Asia Republics.

WESTERN AFGHANISTAN (Herat, Farah)

There was heavy fighting between Mujahideen and Kabul regime forces all along about 600 km long route which connects Torghundai-Khushka on the Soviet border with Qandahar by way of Herat and Hilmand provinces. Mujahideen also launched a massive attack on the large airbase at Shindand. If, by any chance, they had been able to dislodge regime forces from the airbase—which harbours squadron of Russian-made fighters, bombers and helicopters—they could achieve local superiority in an area where a gigantic military-cum-supply convoy was moving, on its way to Qandahar. But, as it happened, the Mujahideen could only take the 'administrative headquarters' of Shindand,

some 10 kilometres from the airbase. Apparently, the Mujahideen could not retain the possession of Shindand Town for more than 24 hours. According to Kabul Radio reports "counter-revolutionaries" were thrown back from the suburbs of Shindand after loosing about 100 fighters.

During the rocketing and shelling of Shindand airbase, Mujahideen claimed to have hit and destroyed a number of aircraft.

CENTRAL AFGHANISTAN (Ghor, Uruzgan, Bamiyan)

Bamiyan has long been vacated by Kabul regime garrisons and there were not any reports of fighting between the Mujahideen and regime troops from that province.

In Ghor, Mujahideen continued to launch rocket and missile attacks on the provincial capital Chagcharan, besieged especially the airport area. Chaghcharan garrison receives its arms, ammunition, food and other supplies by air only.

On their part, Soviet-made aircraft repeatedly bombarded Mujahideen in Chaghcharan.

The besieged Kabul regime garrison in Tarinkot, the provincial capital of Uruzgan, made a desperate bid to break out of the Mujahideen stronghold in the beginning of September. Simultaneously, their aircraft bombarded Mujahideen positions in the neighbourhood. They also dropped supplies to the troops.

Mujahideen reports said that Kabul regime offensive moves around Tarinkot were frustrated.

KABUL AND SHOMALI (Kabul, Parwan, Baghlan, Kapisa, Laghman, Logar, Wardak)

Throughout the month of September, 1989, the Mujahideen continued to bombard the Kabul airport and selected areas in and around the city with, what Kabul regime and Moscow Radio describe as, long-range weapons. Perhaps never before, the capital had been hit at so consistently and with such devastating effect as in September. Hundreds were stated to have been killed and wounded. Possibly, some of the projectiles went astray and hit the bazaars and living quarters of the civilians. It is also possible—as is also suggested by some Mujahideen reports that some rockets hitting the civilian quarters were actually fired by the Kabul regime troops. The idea could have been to seek to influence the local population, as well as, international public opinion to the disadvantage of the Freedom Fighters.

Kabul airport was virtually deserted after one of the heaviest rocket attacks on September 1. The renewed attacks coincided with Dr.

Najibullah's expected departure for the Non-Aligned Summit in Belrade, a meeting where he was to seek support for a negotiated end to he war, despite guerrilla leaders refusal to hold talks.

On September 13, an aircraft was damaged apparently due to Mujahideen rocket attacks on Kabul airport also carrying the UN Secretary General's personal envoy on Afghanistan, Mr. Benon Sevan. A JN spokesman in New York said that Mr. Sevan and several UN obserers were in the DC-9 aircraft which had arrived in Kabul from Islambad only five minutes before the attack. Two persons were killed in he attack but no UN personnel were injured as they had sought refuge n the control room.

On their part, Kabul troops on September 4, launched a new offensive to clear the guerrillas around Kabul. A Kabul regime military officer said the offensive was being launched from the Salang Highway gainst Mujahideen positions in the hills north of Kabul. A Reuter news gency report from Kabul said the "operation appeared to be having imited success."

Meanwhile, traffic on the Salang Highway remained suspended for everal days due to attacks by the Mujahideen of Ahmad Shah Masoud. Masoud used guerrilla 'hit and run' tactics rather than fixed lines battle actics. The cities or bases hit by Mujahideen included Charikar, Bagram, Jala Surkh and sub-divisional headquarters of Jabal-us-Siraj. The Mujaideen claimed to have destroyed atleast 19 tanks and captured seven nilitary posts. But, then regime re-inforcements came and the Mujahieen were forced to beat a retreat.

There was not any report of fighting from Kapisa, presumably ecause there were not any Kabul regime troops in that stronghold of Masoud.

6 — PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE THEMES

Radio Kabul

Given below, were the major Radio Kabul propaganda themes in September 1989 in descending order of recurrence:

1. Pakistan is deeply involved in interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan: and its policies in relation to neighbouring countries are irresponsible, irrational and unrealistic.
2. Mujahideen are so many discordant and disparate groups engaged in internecine quarrels and indiscriminate killing of innocent citizens of Kabul, Qandahar, Jalalabad and other cities.
3. The PDPA has been striving to achieve a fair and peaceful

settlement of the Afghanistan crisis on the basis of national reconciliation.

4. United States interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan seeks to promote its own perceived selfish interests in the region.
5. Pakistan and the United States have been persistently violating the Geneva Accords to which Pakistan was a party and the United States a guarantor.

Radio Moscow

Given below, were the major Moscow media propaganda themes pertaining to Afghanistan in September 1989, in descending order of recurrence:

1. Pakistan continues to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan in violation of all recognized norms governing relations between states.
2. The USSR and Afghanistan are seeking a peaceful solution for the Afghanistan issue by promoting intra-Afghan dialogue and the idea of an international conference.
3. The United States has increased the volume and variety of arms supplies to the Extremists in Afghanistan. This results in increased bloodshed among the Afghan people.
4. Mujahideen's 'acts of terrorism,' as also reflected in bloody battles and massacres among themselves, have exposed them to all concerned in their true colours.
5. The crisis-ridden Peshawar-based Islamic Interim Government of Mujahideen is unrepresentative of the people of Afghanistan. It can not rightly claim legitimacy or recognition to speak on behalf of all the Afghans.

APPENDIX – 1

PROVINCEWISE ENGAGEMENTS IN LAST THREE MONTHS (JULY, AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER, 1989) (MUJAHIDEEN SOURCES)

Provinces	July	August	September
Bordering Pakistan			
Nimroz	—	1	—
Hilmand	3	6	6
Qandahar	45	26	29
Zabul	4	2	4
Ghazni	1	4	1
Paktika	—	—	—
Paktiya	46	25	37
Ningarhar	146	22	11
Kunar	—	—	—
Nooristan	—	—	—
Bordering USSR			
Badakhshan	5	6	8
Takhar	2	1	—
Kunduz	13	20	4
Baghlan	24	15	8
Samangan	3	2	8
Balkh	20	7	32
Jozjan	1	1	—
Sar-i-Pul	—	—	—
Faryab	18	2	11
Badghis	5	5	7
Bordering Iran			
Herat	21	6	19
Farah	4	3	—
(Nimroz)	—	—	—
Central Provinces			
Bamiyan	—	—	—
Ghor	—	8	—
Uruzgan	2	4	—
Kabul and Adjacent			
Kabul	76	47	58
Parwan	21	21	21
Kapisa	1	1	—
Laghman	42	7	16
Logar	19	2	8
Wardak	14	6	2
TOTAL:	536	265	299

APPENDIX – 2

PROVINCEWISE KABUL SECURITY OPERATIONS AND COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES ACTIONS FOR THE LAST THREE MONTHS (JULY, AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER, 1989) (MOSCOW–KABUL SOURCES)

Provinces	July	August	September	Total
Bordering Pakistan				
Nimroz	—	—	1	1
Hilmand	—	4	3	7
Qandahar	32	26	18	76
Zabul	—	—	2	2
Ghazni	—	—	—	—
Paktika	—	—	—	—
Paktiya	38	21	54	113
Ningarhar	69	51	37	157
Kunar	—	—	—	—
Nooristan	—	—	—	—
Bordering USSR				
Badakhshan	1	—	1	2
Takhar	—	—	—	—
Kunduz	2	2	1	5
Baghlan	—	—	—	—
Samangan	—	1	1	2
Balkh	—	—	—	—
Jozjan	—	—	—	—
Sar-i-Pul	—	—	—	—
Faryab	—	—	—	—
Badghis	—	—	1	1
Bordering Iran				
Herat	6	11	6	23
Farah	—	—	2	2
(Nimroz)	—	—	—	—
Central Provinces				
Bamiyan	—	—	—	—
Ghor	—	—	—	—
Uruzgan	—	—	—	—
Kabul and Adjacent				
Kabul	38	47	23	108
Parwan	1	—	2	3
Kapisa	—	—	—	—
Laghman	—	2	3	5
Logar	—	—	—	—
Wardak	4	5	—	9
TOTAL:	191	170	155	516

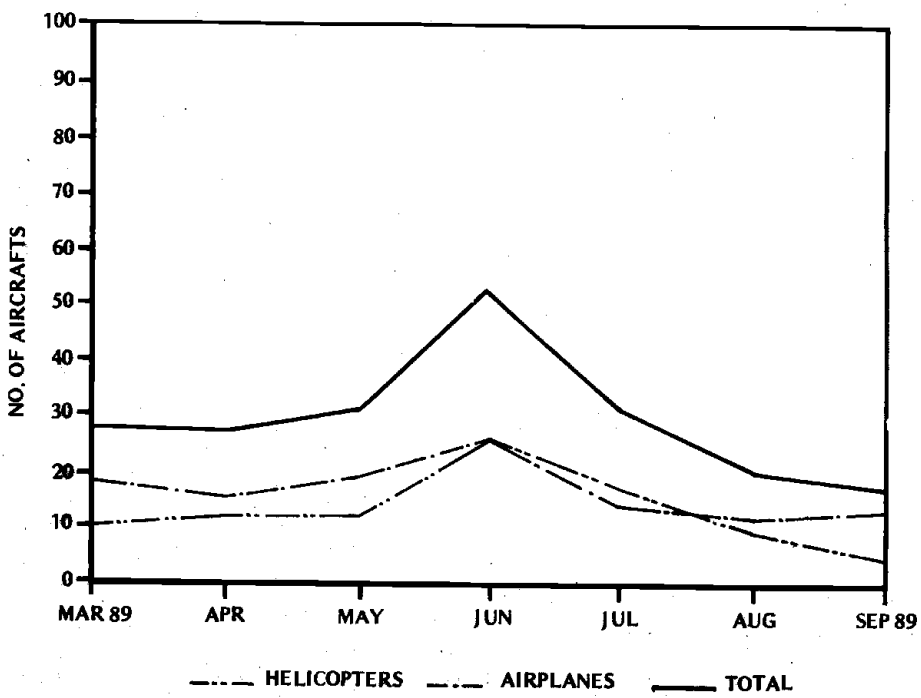
APPENDIX – 3

KABUL AIR LOSSES IN LAST SEVEN MONTHS

Month		Helicopters	Aeroplanes	Total
September	1989	4	13	17
August	1989	9	11	20
July	1989	17	14	31
June	1989	26	26	52
May	1989	12	19	31
April	1989	12	15	27
March	1989	10	18	28
	TOTAL:	90	116	206

AIR LOSSES IN LAST SEVEN MONTHS

(MUJAHIDEEN SOURCES)



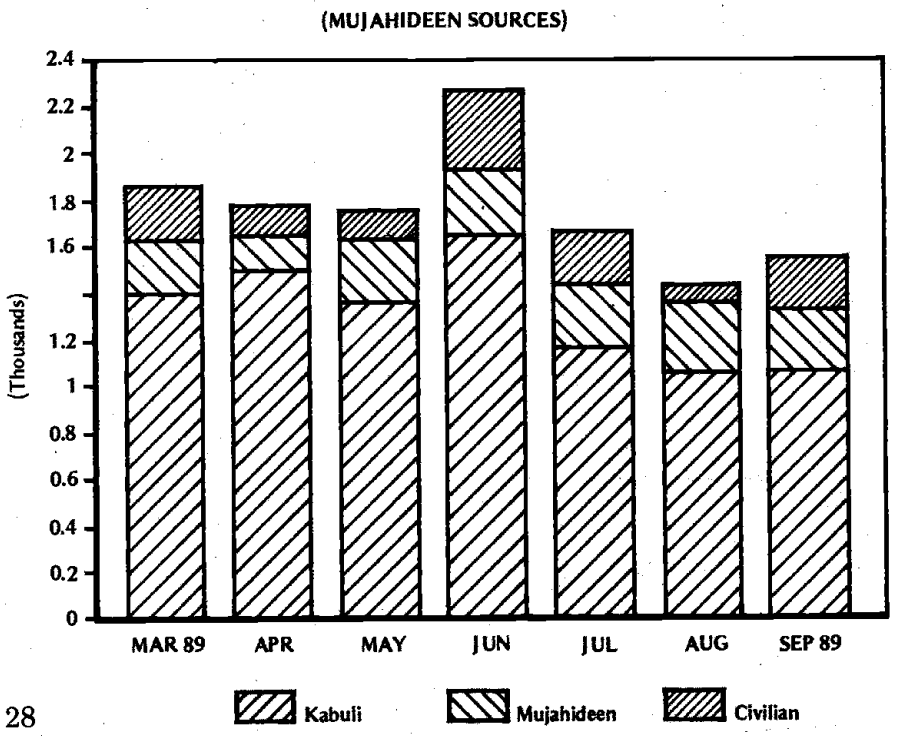
APPENDIX — 4

HUMAN LOSSES* IN LAST SEVEN MONTHS
(Mujahideen Sources September, 1989)

Month	Kabuli Troops killed	Mujahi-deen killed	Civilian killed	Total
September 1989	1065	268	220	1553
August 1989	1061	312	57	1430
July 1989	1164	278	220	1660
June 1989	1651	271	342	2264
May 1989	1356	268	126	1750
April 1989	1499	149	129	1777
March 1989	1407	220	221	1848
TOTAL:	9203	1764	1315	12282

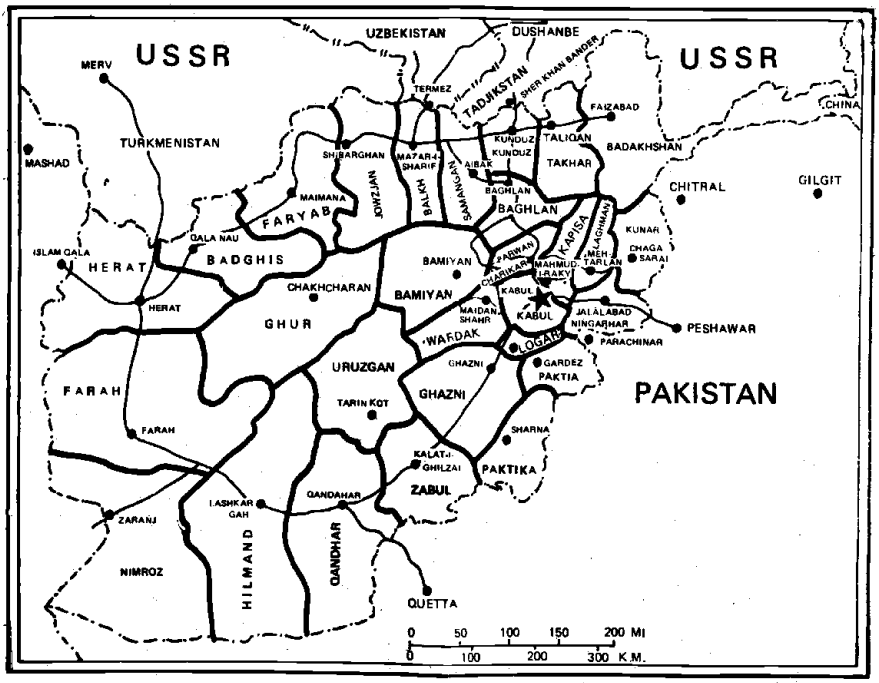
*Please see reports prior to March 1989 for losses sustained to Soviet troops during their stay in Afghanistan uptil 15 February 1989.

HUMAN LOSSES IN LAST SEVEN MONTHS



APPENDIX – 5

MAP OF AFGHANISTAN – PROVINCES = 31)



Number of Provinces in which conflict was reported (Mujahideen Sources):

July	24
August	26
September	19

Provinces from where no war report received during the last three months were Paktika, Kunar, Nooristan, Sar-i-Pul and Bamiyan.

Number of Provinces in which conflict was reported (Kabul-Moscow Sources):

July	9
August	13
September	15

Provinces from where no war report were reported by Kabul-Moscow sources were: Ghazni, Paktika, Nooristan, Takhar, Baghlan, Balkh, Jozjan, Faryab, Sar-i-Pul, Badghis, Bamiyan, Ghor, Kapisa and Logar.

II.— POLITICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN AFGHANISTAN

1 — POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

AUGUST

Arafat Proposed Mediation

Kabul Radio has said that Afghan President Najibullah has agreed to a proposal from PLO leader Yasser Arafat for direct peace talks with Pakistan and the main rebel alliance which is based there. The proposal was conveyed to Najibullah by PLO Envoy Abu Khalid at a meeting in the Afghan capital (VOG, 1 July).

The Pakistan-based Interim Government of the Afghan rebels has rejected holding PLO mediated peace talks with the Soviet-backed Government in Kabul. The Mujahideen said they are not ready for any kind of negotiations, direct or indirect, with the Kabul Government and so there is no question of some one serving as mediator (VOA, 2 July).

Muhammadi Complaints Against US

The Defence Minister of Interim Government, Maulvi Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi said that our friends, the Americans had left us at the mercy of enemies, for the last six months which enjoyed the support of Soviet Union. And, if our friends had not stopped the arms supply than today the Interim Government would have been functioning in Kabul. He further added that he talked to the US Envoy, who said that supply of arms was suspended temporarily and would be restored soon. The US Envoy, Mr. Tomsen told that there was some shortage in the supply of arms for the past some months but he denied the report that the Mujahideen have exhausted their arms (BBC, 11 June).

Rabbani Accused Hikmatyar

Giving an interview to the BBC the leader of the Jamiat-e-Islami group of the Afghan Mujahideen Professor Burhanuddin Rabbani accused his rival group Hizb-e-Islami of killing his thirty men on 9th July*

When asked if he was directly holding Gulbadin Hikmatyar responsible for this, Professor Rabbani observed after all he was the leader of that group.

These differences between the Jamiat-e-Islami and the Hizb-e-

*For further details of the incident, please see page 5.

slami have inflicted further blow on the credibility of the Afghan nterim Government.

Meanwhile, the United States has also indicated that it will cut the id to the party of Mr. Hikmatyar, because it was worried over the xtremist Islamic policies of the Hizb-e-Islami (BBC, 27 July).

Rajiv Gandhi Delivered a UN Proposed Peace Plan to Gorbachev

The Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi said today that he ad delivered UN proposals to Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev in onnection with ending the ten year long war in Afghanistan. Accordng to Associated Press report, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi did not disclose the he contents of these proposals (Radio Tehran, 17 July).

SEPTEMBER

Shevardnadze Visit Kabul

After the pull-out of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan in Febuary the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Shevardnadze has for the first ime visited Kabul. He arrived in Kabul on 6th August, while giving nterview to the Bakhtar News Agency the Soviet Foreign Minister, aid that the military solution to the Afghan issue was an impossibility nd spoke of the need for national reconciliation. The Soviet Foreign Minister clearly asserted that the Afghan army would continue to eceive advanced weapons. He spoke much about Iran's stand on Afghanistan. He claims that Iran supports broad-based negotiations within the country. It apparently means that some men of the Najibllah Government be included in the negotiations for a future governnent of Afghanistan. But there has been no indication from Iran that it will abandon its demand for the formation of an Islamic Government n Kabul. Mr. Shevardnadze reiterated his country's old proposal that n international conference be summond on the Afghanistan issue. It hould be supervised by the United Nations and all the Afghans, superowers, Pakistan, Iran, China and India should participate in it (BBC, 0 August).

Zahir Shah's "Peace Plan"

The former King of Afghanistan, Zahir Shah has presented a comrehensive plan for the establishment of peace in his country. Sultan Ghazi, a cousin of Zahir Shah had presented this plan to Pakistan Foreign Minister, Sahabzada Yaqub Khan in September last. A Pakistan aily THE NATION has for the first time published its text. The paper uotes Sultan Ghazi as having said that the only way for a real settle-

ment is convening of Loya Jirga and resultantly formation of a broad-based government which could put an end to civil war in Afghanistan. According to the plan, the Loya Jirga will comprise eight hundred forty-one members. Mujahideen organisations based in Iran and Pakistan will directly elect two hundred thirty-three members. Twenty-seven nominees will represent the Kabul government in the Jirga. The rest of the members will be elected by the Afghan refugees living outside Afghanistan on regional basis. Eighty-one seats have been reserved for Ulema, intellectuals and technical experts. The plan proposes twenty-seven seats each for neutral Mujahideen commanders and women.

THE NATION says that in view of Pakistani authorities, there is a severe flaw in Zahir Shah's plan i.e. as to who will make the different Afghan factions agree on this plan. Pakistani authorities also doubt whether the United Nations would like to be involved in the politics of Afghans to such a great extent. But in New York, the UN officials are anxious to promote any such dialogue among the Afghans which may be a prelude to peace in Afghanistan.

Zahir Shah in his plan has also proposed setting up a selection committee comprising fifty to sixty renowned Afghans which should meet in Geneva under the UN auspices. The selection committee will comprise representatives of Afghan Mujahideen organisations, leading Mujahideen field commanders, honourable high officials, ulema and intellectuals. Zahir Shah says that the selection committee should convene Loya Jirga. The Jirga will also elect a head of state from among the participants and approve the government nominated by him. The plan also proposes setting up of a thirty-member temporary Parliament which will work till the election of two Houses of National Legislature (VOA, 20 August).

Hikmatyar Cut Off Link with AIG

Gulbadin Hikmatyar has temporarily broken away from the Interim Government which was established in Februay last.

The statement released to the press by the Hizb-e-Islami Office in Peshawar indicates that the group is suspending its participation in the meetings of the Interim Cabinet. Experts opine that this step should be reviewed in the light of the present situation. In recent past Hizb-e-Islami has been blaming the President of the Interim Government, Sibghatullah Mujaddadi that he has been taking side in the conflict between Hizb-e-Islami and Jamiat-e-Islami of Burhanuddin Rabbani (VOA, 30 August).

Hikmatyar Proposes Elections in Afghanistan

Afghan resistance leader Gulbadin Hikmatyar addressing a news

conference on 5th August, in Peshawar suggested a non-Communist Revolutionary Council be set up in Kabul to replace the present regime and hold nationwide elections in six months. The Interim Government (Mujahideen) Foreign Minister says non-Communist military officers in Kabul are capable of seizing power with the help of the Mujahideen Commanders now operating around the capital. Mr. Hikmatyar said rising discontent in the regime army would ultimately succeed in removing the Soviet installed government of Najibullah (VOA, 6 August).

Jamiat Arrested the Accused Hizb Commander

Gulbadin Hikmatyar's Hizb-e-Islami group has confirmed the report that one of its field commanders has been arrested by a rival group, Jamiat-e-Islami.

In an interview to BBC a Hizb-e-Islami spokesman said that Commander, Saeed Jamal was arrested by the Jamiat guerillas in the northern province of Takhar nine days ago after an intensive adventure resulting in the death and injuries to several local inhabitants.

The Jamiat had announced arrest of the Hizb-e-Islami commander on Friday (BBC, 27 August).

New Appointment

With the recommendation of the Council of Ministers, the Afghan President has appointed Mohammad Hakim as the Deputy Prime Minister of Afghanistan and Abdul Karim as the Mayor of Kabul city (Radio Kabul, 21 August).

Afghanistan President, Najibullah has appointed one of his former opponents as Adviser for Foreign Affairs. Khial Mohammad who is member of the group of Khalq Party which opposed Najibullah government within the government, was released from eight year imprisonment only three months ago (VOA, 31 July).

OCTOBER

Wakil Speaks at U.N.G.A.

Speaking at the 44th session of the UN General Assembly, the Afghan Foreign Minister, Abdul Wakil said that interference in the internal affairs and aggression against Afghanistan has not stopped. Despite Soviet military pullout from Afghanistan and adherence to the Geneva Accords by Afghanistan, Pakistan persistently ignores these agreements. He said that from February 15 to August this year, eighteen varieties of sophisticated weapons have been provided to the armed opposition. He said the number of military training camps for

the extremists have reached 180. Thousands of civilians were being killed due to the missile attack by extremists. This is state terrorism which has been condemned at the UN General Assembly session and summit conference of the Non-Aligned Movement in Belgrade. He stressed the need for setting up a Peace Force in Afghanistan and described US policy on Afghanistan as un-realistic. He added that the increase in the supply of weapons to the Afghan opposition will not serve the interests of the United States in the region at all (Radio Kabul, 29 September).

US Contacts Zahir Shah

Regarding the United States contact with former Afghan monarch, Zahir Shah, Mr. Peter Tomsen said, he thinks that a number of incorrect reports have been published in the press in this connection. Some newspapers have given their impression as if the United States have changed its policy or a new development has emerged. The US Embassy in Rome has agreed to send its Assistant Ambassador for talks with the former Afghan monarch, Zahir Shah and asking him to support the Afghan resistance and interim government. Such contacts were also made with the former Afghan monarch in the past when the Mujahideen government was formed in February last. The latest meeting of the US Assistant Ambassador with Mr. Zahir Shah was a chain of the series.

Mr. Peter Tomsen said that the former Afghan monarch is being considered a part of the entire Afghan resistance. However, the real elements are fighting inside Afghanistan but in the meantime, the resistance elements also existed outside the fold of the Afghan interim government. These elements are also living in the United States and Europe and they including the former Afghan King are supporting the resistance. Mr. Tomsen said that Zahir Shah is an important supporter of the Afghan resistance and it should not be forgotton that he has raised his voice during the entire period of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and afterward in support of the resistance. He has not only raised his voice against the Soviet invasion but also against Najib and the PDP. Mr. Peter Tomsen further said that contacts between the US Assistant Ambassador in Rome and the former Afghan monarch are likely to continue and he himself may also meet Zahir Shah any time. But according to him, all these meetings are in accordance with the framework of efforts being carried out on the basis of policy of maintaining contacts with all the resistance elements and it also reveals the US support for the resistance (VOA, 16 September).

Hikmatyar Accused US

Hikmatyar has accused America of creating problems for Mujahideen last year. In this connection he mentioned reduction in arms supply and new system of arms distribution under which weapons are directly supplied to Mujahideen Commanders—and not through Afghan parties as has been practiced earlier. Mr. Hikmatyar believes that America is weakening political structure of resistance movement and he condemned the US policy.

He also claimed that Mujahideen have got liberated 230 out of 260 districts of the country after the withdrawal of Soviet forces. He said, if we have not succeeded in overthrowing Najib government so far, its reason is that America stopped our supplies at the critical stage and problem of ammunition shortage was created. Mr. Hikmatyar said direct arms supply to Mujahideen Commanders will weaken party control and it would harm the Mujahideen's goal. Mr. Hikmatyar said, if we come to know that any one of our Commanders receives anything directly from America, we would meet him out the same treatment as we met out to the Commander getting arms from Russians and Kabul government. Mr. Hikmatyar appears to be displeased with Afghan interim government whom he described as a weak government which is on paper. At the same time he also criticised America for considering to seek an alternative of the interim government. Hikmatyar had dissociated from interim government two weeks ago because it did not hold the promised elections last month (VOA, 18 September).

Field Commanders Appeal to the Muslim World

Sixty-four commanders of the Mujahideen from ten provinces of Afghanistan have asked the Islamic world, particularly Pakistan and Iran to continue their support to the Mujahideen till the formation of an Islamic Government in Afghanistan.

This was stated in a resolution adopted at a gathering of Mujahideen commanders in Quetta city of Pakistan.

These commanders have expressed opposition to the appointment of Zahir Shah as head of the interim government of Afghanistan. They described such a proposal as a conspiracy hatched by the United States and other imperialist circles and said the Mujahideen would never allow Zahir Shah to return to Afghanistan because he brought Communism to Afghanistan (VIRA, 25 September).

Vorontsov Completes his term in Kabul

The First Deputy Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Yuli Vorontsov has completed his term as Soviet Ambassador in Kabul. In

an interview to BBC before leaving Kabul for home, Mr. Vorontsov said that now he would intensify efforts for a greater UN role in Afghanistan and to convince the countries like Saudi Arabia and Pakistan to shun their expectations about the military prospects in the Afghan conflict (BBC, 12 September).

2 — ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

Agreement Signed with Syria

Syria and Afghanistan have signed an agreement aimed at promoting bilateral cooperation. The agreement was signed by Syrian Vice President, Zoheb Masharafa and his Afghan counterpart, Abdur Rahim Hatif who is in Damascus on a visit, details of the agreement are not known (VOA, 10 July).

World Bank Stop Credits to Afghanistan

The World Bank is to halt any further credits to Afghanistan owing to payment arrears. World Bank spokesman in Washington said, Afghanistan had fallen behind in repaying about seventy-three million dollars and was automatically excluded from further loans (VOG, 22 August).

Soviet Aid to Afghanistan Increased

The HINDUSTAN TIMES quote an ANI report from Kabul as saying that the Soviet assistance to Afghanistan has increased by more than two times after 15th February when the Soviet troops withdrew from Afghanistan.

The highly placed sources of Kabul told the ANI that the recent visit by the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Shevardnadze to Kabul was aimed at further strengthening the Najib government economically. Besides, he had come to make it clear to the Kabul regime that the Soviet Union had not at all abandoned its support to the Najib government (AIR, 23 August).

Soviet Spendings in Afghanistan to Support Najibullah

US special envoy to Afghan rebels, Peter Tomsen told a news conference in Islamabad that the Soviet Union is still involved in the civil war in Afghanistan sending seven million dollars weapons a day to the Kabul government. Mr. Tomsen also said, three hundred Soviet advisers are inside Afghanistan. He called the Kabul regime, a weak and strinking government with a number of its members defecting to the Mujahideen (VOA, 1 September).

According to American estimates, the Soviet Union is spending 400 to 600 million marks on Afghanistan every month, this has been reported by the US daily, the Washington Post quoting official sources. The report says that the US administration had under-estimated intentions of the Soviet President, Mikhail Gorbachev after the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan. Washington did not believe that Moscow would continue such a large scale political and military assistance to Kabul regime to prolong its existence. According to the newspaper, the United States is also surprised that the Soviet Union is extending such big financial assistance to Najib regime though the Soviet economy is adversely deteriorated (VOG, 10 September).

Afghanistan will get Soviet-made Trucks

The Afghan Prime Minister, Sultan Ali Kishtmand held a meeting with a delegation of Soviet Union in Kabul. The two sides discussed the question of the supply of Soviet-made trucks to Afghanistan. These trucks would be used to transport foodstuffs and other essential commodities to different parts of the country (Radio Moscow, 25 September).

3 — RE-CONSTRUCTION AND RE-PATRIATION

People Fleeing Kabul

According to an Associated Press report, more than 250,000 people have left Kabul during the last six months. The report said that those who are leaving the city, not only included people of the under privileged class but the well to do class also and they have made queues in front of the Indian Embassy in Kabul.

Diplomats say that the Indian Embassy has granted 25,000 visas to Afghans during the current year.

UN officials estimate that 25,000 to 40,000 persons leave Kabul every month (Radio Tehran, 18 September).

The Daily Boston Globe in a recent issue has carried an article on Afghanistan. Quoting Reuter news agency the Daily writes, thirty to forty thousand people are fleeing Kabul every month to Pakistan or some other countries. Diplomats and relief workers gave two reasons for this. One is that Kabul regime recruits youths for military training and second, the Mujahideen rocket attacks on Kabul have harassed the people. The Daily quotes Kabul government as saying that it is a routine matter and people generally leave the city in this season and go to the surrounding areas. But diplomats and relief workers do not accept the Kabul regime claim. Diplomats say people are fleeing due to

conscription, price hike, shortage of commodities and rocket attacks on the city. The Mujahideen have blocked most of the roads leading towards Kabul and that is why prices of commodities are very high. The Daily Boston Globe concludes by writing that people are rushing towards bus stops in suburbs of Kabul, particularly towards the bus which goes to Logar. The people are entering Pakistan through Logar road with the support of Mujahideen (VOA, 8 September).

UNHCR running short of funds

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Geneva has called for urgent extra funds to prevent forty million people from becoming what he described as victims of peace. The Commissioner, Mr. Yumpier Oak (ph) has said that UNHCR was short of sixty-five million dollars it needed to carry out its planned activities for this year. The High Commissioner for the Refugees said regional conflicts were being solved in Indo-China, Afghanistan and Central America.

Operation Salam, the UN Assistance Programme for Afghanistan is asking member states for over one thousand million dollars to pay for the reconstruction of the country, a third of that sum will be used to repatriate five million Afghan refugees at present in Iran and Pakistan. Then aid workers fear the real spending will begin to rebuild entire cities and roads and restart agriculture and industrial production (BBC, 24 August).

UN to provide Fertilizers

The Minister of Agriculture and Land Reforms, Engineer Mohammad Ghufran held a meeting with the representative of the Coordinator of the Humanitarian Assistance, Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan, at his office in Kabul today. The representative of Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan promised UN supply of chemical fertilizer and pesticides to Afghanistan (Radio Kabul, 27 August).

Reconstruction started at local level

The Afghan Mujahideen and refugees of Farah province have formed a joint Shoora for reconstruction of that province. The Head of Reconstruction Committee of Farah province, Commander Haji Abdul Khaliq said that Commanders of all the Mujahideen organisations gathered in Quetta some twenty days ago in connection with the utilisation of assistance from the United Nations and other humanitarian relief agencies through a committee consisting of representatives of all the Mujahideen and refugees of Farah province. Haji Abdul Khaliq said that some people who acquire assistance from the humani-

tarian agencies in the name of Farah province do not spend the assistance in proper way. He said that in their meeting, the Mujahideen Commanders of Farah province, formed a Committee and assigned tasks in the fields of Agriculture, Medical Science and Engineering to a number of professional people. It was decided in the meeting that all the assistance to Farah province should be given through that Committee. Haji Abdul Khaliq said that similar irregularities are being committed in a number of other Afghan provinces and this Farah province is the first to take initiative in this connection. He further said that there is no dearth of professional people who could be included in the Reconstruction Committee of Farah province. Haji Abdul Khaliq went on to say that the office of the United Nations speical envoy, Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan asks the Mujahideen of every province to identity projects by themselves for reconstruction of their respective areas and send them for further process. The Head of Reconstruction Committee of Farah province said that they intend to start first agricultural projects in that province because canals of the province have dried up, agricultural lands have become barren and the local people are facing famine. Haji Abdul Khaliq further said that the representative of the Mujahideen interim government was present in the meeting in which the committee was formed and it approved it accordingly. (Commentary—Pushto: VOA, 27 September).

UN launch programme for Kabul

The UN Coordination Office for Afghanistan has announced a comprehensive assistance programme of about 250 million dollars. The announcement has come due to deteriorating situation of Kabul which is shortly to fail in the grip of severe cold.

According to UN Coordination Office for Afghanistan in Geneva most of the Soviet supplies are coming from Termaz, situated on the Soviet-Afghan border. These supplies have come under Mujahideen attacks. Besides, there are problems of transport, modes of transportation and security measures on some supply routes because these routes are, to a limited extent, held by the Mujahideen forces. Supplies have also not been received in time from Iran and Pakistan. The differences among Mujahideen leadership in Peshawar are further impeding the way.

The UN agencies are now trying to work in collaboration with the local councils. Such problems are also faced in Iran. The UN Coordina-

tors are also facing the problem of cash payments. These problems would become further serious in the winter season. The government says that it has considerable food reserves for Kabul during the winter. However, the government realises that there exists shortage of fuel. The UN Coordinators say that they are making every possible effort to improve the situation. However, their tone reveals that they are not much hopeful (BBC, 29 September).

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